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Though Monckton reports (1921) a few large villages in the early post-contact period, it is only recently, in response to Australian pressure, that multi-clan villages, with populations ranging from 100 to 500, have become common. Most of the plantations found in the Northern district have been established by Australian ex-servicemen supported by government loans. A number of Orokaiva have been drawn to work on these plantations, others to jobs in Popondetta, others again to service with the police, the armed forces or employers outside the district. Such migration has substantially reduced the proportion of the male village population group.[2]

## 2. *Technology and Aesthetics*

We possess only the briefest description of Orokaiva industry (in Williams 1930). Although I did collect additional data, the traditional technology has been transformed to such an extent that my data must needs be fragmentary. The only axes and adzes now in use are made of steel; most of the various stone-made cutting tools described by Williams are no longer in use, being replaced by the ubiquitous bush knife wielded by young and old, male and female. One exception is worth noting, if only to emphasise an element of continuity: cockle shells are still used for the scraping of coconuts and for the shaping and decorating of pots. Most of the needles used by women are still made of flying fox bones (*poma*), even though a few needles have at times been obtained from the Mission. While files for sharpening tools are necessarily made of steel, rough leaves still serve as tools for scraping pots, smoothing down wood, etc. The same mixture in the use of basic tools is found in agriculture, hunting, and fishing: we still find the digging stick but also the axe; traditional hand nets and fishing spears (with steel tips), but also snorkels. For hunting, traditional devices have been almost entirely replaced by the shot gun. The old technology is still basically intact in those few industries which are directly related to ceremonial life: the making and decorating of loin cloths, feather headdresses, ceremonial weaponry, musical instruments such as drums. Certain other specifically feminine artifacts (mats, baskets, string bags) are still produced and in use, while much of the contemporary Orokaiva house-building technology is traditional, Fine wickerwork for ceremonial objects (armlets, spear decorations, etc.) is still made by some of the older men. Orokaiva women have almost stopped making pots, though this was an important industry in pre-contact times. While trade goods are used for everyday purposes, such pots as are still made serve as gifts to women at the time of marriage. They are kept for sentimental reasons, but we were able to see only very few.

An everyday Orokaiva meal consists of taro, often with a few vegetable condiments: coconut milk, cordyline tips, or edible pitpit,[3] or one of a number of herbs, sometimes of supposed medicinal value. Much care is devoted to the cooking of the taro and variety is provided partly by a choice from many varieties of taro growing in most gardens. In the dry season, any of a number of subsidiary foods (sweet potato, German taro, yam, banana, breadfruit and several others) may be added to make the taro stretch further. Meat or fish is eaten only rarely, usually on festive occasions. Foods like tea, sugar, bread and salt are also reserved for such occasions. Although several traditional methods of

incontinently appropriated by her husband. The sharing of a fruit, especially a twin fruit, is a frequent practice when two people wish to establish or restore specially close bonds with one another. It constitutes a mutual pledge of friendship by agreeing to have a feast and take all the taro; they are re-establishing it by the betelnut-sharing. Thus we meet again the theme of the removal of conflict and the promoting of communion that dominates the feasting institution.

After the meeting, an invitation is sent to the chosen village. This takes the form of a small preliminary gift of betelnut and food, symbolic of the bounty to come later. The sending of this gift is called *sope ikari*. The men begin to build the feast house, a special structure which looks quite different from modern houses, but seems to correspond in almost every respect to the design of ordinary pre-contact Orokaiva houses. A style of carving used on the posts of modern feast houses seems to derive from the taro cult prevalent in the Northern District shortly after 1914 (see Chinnery and Haddon 1917, Williams 1928). The house is normally ready about a month before the feast. The ritual task of drawing down the spirits to dwell in the house and possess the offerers of sacrifice now begins. There is an all-night dance in which only initiated men participate, and at which bullroarers and flutes are used to draw the spirits. (For these instruments see Chinnery and Beaver 1915, Williams 1930: 195.) Though informants claimed that this ritual was now abandoned, I know it was enacted at Urarituru, two miles from Sivepe, in 1967. In some villages this dance is repeated (as Williams also notes, 1930: 230) from time to time before the feast, while it is also general practice to sit in front of the feast house at night and sing feast chants, which I heard one evening at Inonda. Each chant dealt either in forthright direct language or more symbolically with one of the objects necessary for a feast: meat, taro, various other vegetables and fruits, clothes, ornaments, betelnut, etc., telling them all to be plentiful. Another chant was addressed to the smoke arising from the fire inside the feast-house, telling it to draw to the village an abundance of guests. As these chants proceed at night, people busy themselves by bringing in food for the feast, preparing ceremonial clothing, and ornaments to be worn by the hosts.

The main effect of these preparations is to induce in the offerers of sacrifice a psychological identification with the *dema* of primeval time. Very little agricultural work is done in this part of the year except harvesting so that virtually all productive energy goes into ceremonial preparations. Those who are to play the role of visitors must likewise prepare, as they are usually called upon to dance, and so need to make or renovate the same paraphernalia and rehearse their dances. The change of identity that occurs when people wear ceremonial dress is strongly emphasised. Everybody must act as though this dress actually makes the wearer unrecognisable. Informants variously explain that the wearer is a wallaby, a flower, one of a number of species of birds perhaps, or an *embahi* – a spirit. Williams has described how initiands are expected to show fear of the *embahi* at initiation and be mystified by the disguise. Initiation, indeed, is the ritual whereby young people learn the dual identity of men: the everyday people one sees about the village, and the ancestral spirits which may at any time transform these familiar people into beings of primal time. The curious nasal sound of the feasting songs emphasises this new identity.

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## 5. *The Message of the Sacred Flutes*

We are now in a position to analyse Williams' data on the *otohu*. Recent theoretical advances in anthropology help us to a fairly easy solution to the problem of the *otohu* by following up a clue Williams threw away as insignificant. Williams was actually very close to the solution I now propose. He recognised that the explanation of the *otohu* is to be found in the ritual of initiation. He also recognised that Chinnery's and Beaver's explanation of initiation, (viz. that it educates by showing initiands the terrifying power of the spirits), 'does not lay sufficient stress on the actual paraphernalia, viz. the bullroarers and flutes, which play a more important part in the ceremony than would appear' (1930: 195). Finally, Williams records (*ibid.*, 185) that in some localities such as Wasida, one of the duet of flutes is actually called *otohu* and the other *e* (= mother). Though this usage is only local, it nevertheless gives us a crucial insight into the significance of the word *otohu*.

Seeing that the Wasida people used the same word for the mental qualities known as *otohu* and the larger and lower-pitched of the pair of sacred flutes, it is useful to inquire whether some symbolic equivalence exists between these mental qualities and these objects. The question falls into two parts. First, we have to explain why there should be any association between a flute and a set of social virtues. Secondly, we have to explain why the flute called *otohu*, which is symbolically equivalent to a set of moral virtues, should be played in antiphony to another flute called *e*. As for the first question, Williams reports that these flutes are never seen but only heard by the uninitiated and that they are regarded as voices of the spirits or *embahi*. The initiated have seen the *embahi* and are allowed to see and play the sacred flutes. They have made the acquaintance of the world of primal ancestors who enunciated and established the moral rules of social behaviour. As children they were taught to obey these rules, but as initiates they have experienced a mystic unity with the deities who established them. The sacred flutes, being voices of the spirits, have communicated these rules in their spiritual essence. Now an *otohu embo* (a man of good character, ibid., p. 205) is a man who lives according to the message he has received from the sacred flutes. The connection between the flutes and the set of social virtues is therefore not difficult to establish.

Secondly, why should the flute called *otohu* be played in antiphony to a flute called *e*? To answer this question let us first recall that according to Williams' own evidence (*ibid.*, 185), the Orokaiva classify one of this pair of flutes – always the larger and lower-pitched one – as masculine and the other as feminine. If the latter is equated to 'mother', then what kinsman is associated with the masculine flute? It seems most plausible that the masculine flute should be symbolically equivalent to the mother's brother, as it is he who acts as initiator of the novice and is thus, on the social level, the mediator between the latter and the spirit world. He teaches the initiand to play the flutes, he gives him medicines which ensure success in adult roles, and finally he presents him with the ornament called *otohu*. The association here is clear enough, but see model 34 on p. 187.A

Throughout the Orokaiva world we find the opposition of the male and female principle: between killing and nurture, bush and garden, victim and taro

A [See Category 431--Analyst]

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The mother and mother's brother, being the most harmonious, gentle and affectionate male/female couple known to the Orokaiva, are the most suited for the task of mediating between the fearsome spirit world and the human being. The two initiatory flutes are therefore identifed with them.

How are the *otohu* ornaments connected with (*a*) the moral qualities and (*b*) the flute of the same name? The first part of this question was answered convincingly by Williams, as we have seen. But how are *otohu* ornaments symbolically equivalent to flutes? It is relevant to recall the difference between the two identity symbols *otohu* and *hae*. Ideally, the latter is transmitted in the patriline, the former in the matriline. All other differences (e.g. that the *hae* is attached to the corporate group and the *otohu* to the exchange system) follow from the mode of transmission.

The common characteristic of initiation ceremony, sacred flutes and *otohu* ornaments is that they all ideally derive from uterine kin or, in any case, that they have no necessary connection with the clan. Initiation pries the novice loose from early over-attachment to the clan and confronts him with the more adventurous, less secure world of the exchange system (*mine*). This applies equally to girls and boys. The rigours of this new arena are very effectively dramatised by the *agumu* whose recital emphasises that it is meritorious for the *otohu embo* to kill enemies. The same message is conveyed in a different way by the mother's brother whose role includes the gift of black magic (*saruka*) to his nephew. The ornament, *saruka* and other presentations come to the nephew not of right, but in the form of *mine*, in exchange for help and obedience offered to the mother's brother and gifts made by the novice's family.

The existence of two identity symbols, *hae* and *otohu*, side by side, indicates the strong emphasis placed by Orokaiva culture upon social relationships outside the corporate group. Among the neighbouring Baruga, whose culture closely resembles the Orokaiva, but who are more strongly patrilineal, we find only one identity symbol, the *kotopo*, which serves both as *hae* (lineage emblem) and as *otohu* (honorific ornament). Initiation is here carried out by the clan, introduces the novice to full clan membership, but carries no implications for participation in a wider network.

The *otohu* flute is a voice from the spirit world, mediated through the mother's brother. This voice communicates a certain moral order. The initiand hears the flutes but at that time makes no response. If he is later presented with an *otohu* ornament, he must make pledges. The ornament, as it is thrown back and forth over his head, communicates the same message as the flute but this time the novice responds to the voice. It is thus that he makes the ornament into a symbol of his identity.

## 6. Otohu *and* Hambo *Compared*

There are many resemblances between *otohu* and other *hambo*. They are made from largely the same materials. They are all, together with *di* (feathers) made accessible to men and women at the time of initiation, as soon as they have seen the *embahi*. Yet there are also many differences both in significance and in transactional custom. First of all, *otohu* may be worn on any important occasion, but *hambo* only during a dance or in other ceremonial contexts.

Other informal transactions involving specific reciprocal obligations include the exchange of labour services, gifts of animals killed during a hunting expedition and more or less casual transactions with non-residents.

Formal exchanges operate on a larger scale than the daily or casual transactions. Crocombe (1966:71-2) has listed the main Orokaiva traditional ceremonies ('pondo' or feasts) as marking initiation, marriages, deaths, enhancement of prestige, land transfers, the re-establishment of peace after a quarrel and the lifting of prohibitions between a man and his mother-in-law. The first and last of these have become very rare. In addition to the traditional ceremonies, parties may now be held to mark Christmas, Easter, the saint's day of the local church, the opening of a school or aid post, and birthdays.

A feast provides an opportunity for settling many obligations which may be quite irrelevant to the ostensible purpose and may not concern the person or group actually 'giving' the feast. It may involve one or several villages or descent groups. The feast foods are almost exclusively village-produced, although small amounts of storebought goods, particularly rice, tinned fish, bread, tea and sugar, are becoming more common. Some feasts, such as those marking the end of minor disputes between individuals, are essentially exchanges and in themselves take little time; others include much ceremonial and may last longer than twenty-four hours.[1]

Parties seldom involve reciprocal exchanges though at some large ones traditional obligations to other participants may be settled. Invitations are usually given on the basis of residence near the location of the party rather than of membership of a particular descent group. Most take place during the afternoon and evening and non-traditional dancing to guitar accompaniment may continue throughout the night. Generally, only the host's household is involved in much preparation for a private party but other men's wives will help prepare food, for which some return is expected. Often only a small number of those attending receive a share of food in the customary manner. Others may participate in the dancing at will, but, if they wish to eat or drink, must purchase food or alcohol. Behaviour at such parties is largely imitative of European practice, to the extent that at one wedding party observed the bride was presented with a quantity of old plates, dishes and cutlery by other villagers.

In addition to these exchanges with kinsmen, co-residents and neighbouring villagers, there have been long-established trade links between the inland and coastal people. This trade originally

[1] In the past they sometimes lasted several days.

other rites which are still based largely on traditional precedents, tapa cloths, arm-bands, necklaces and head-dresses are de rigeur, but informants stated that a birthday party was different, as it was a European institution. 514 202 177

The language most frequently used was Pidgin as most of the labourers came from various parts of New Guinea, but the local people spoke between themselves in Orokaiva. Police Motu, the official lingua franca of Papua, was heard quite frequently and the notice about donations was written in that language. While the non-Orokaiva people conversed freely in lingue franche, the less prominent of the Orokaiva people kept largely to themselves. 514 191 198

The only indigenous musical instrument present was a single drum, but it was not played. When asked why there were not more drums, those present expressed mild contempt for them and explained that there would be guitars. All the music, which continued almost nonstop from dusk on Saturday until daylight Sunday, was provided by six or eight guitars owned and played by the indentured labourers present. There were no skilled guitarists, and the band merely strummed a basic rhythm which changed little during the course of the evening. The repertoire of songs was not extensive and most were repeated many times. All of them were either popular Western or modern Polynesian tunes, some sung to Pidgin words, other to English words and a few to Orokaiva words. 514 534 514 533

Most of the young men danced, some of them almost constantly, but very few knew any pattern of steps. The majority were attempting to dance modern style Polynesian dancing which had been learned indirectly from the Samoan, Cook Island and Tongan missionaries who served along the south coast of Papua (though not in the Orokaiva area). The one man who could perform a particular Samoan men's dance quite well had learned it directly from a Samoan missionary several years ago. Some individuals tried to dance traditional Orokaiva steps but were not particularly successful owing to the foreign nature of the music. Several men from New Guinea attempted ballroom dancing which they had seen performed by Europeans in New Guinea, and in films. 514 535 [177]

Of a total of approximately 130 adults present, only about 20 were women. While the discrepancy was partly accounted for by the number of male contract labourers, most of the relatives of the hosts who attended were also men. Few of the settlers or other visitors brought their wives (unless the latter had relatives at Inonda). The cooking was done by a group of five women, while the others remained in the shadows. 514 562

The music and entertainment were almost exclusively the prerogative of the men. No woman joined the band of guitarists and singers at any time, and none attempted to dance until about 10 p.m. [533] [535]

794 yet been completed (which was true) and that these ought to have
575 priority. The women then became impatient; after which they explained
578 to me that the women had talked to them insolently and they had told
628 them to build the house themselves (which was a male task; it would
[162] have been unthinkable that women would have dared to do it). The same men devoted most of the following two months on building the mission hospital, so that their explanation did not hold water. The most likely explanation is that the men felt disinclined to build a clubhouse that was clearly going to be a source of conflict between themselves, the mission and other villages, such as Sasembata. They probably stopped work mainly in order to see whether the conflict would blow over and when their own women started to importune them, lost no time in withdrawing. I base this explanation more on attitudes observed at the time than on explicit informants' statements which were very guarded at this early stage of my research. (All this happened in our first month in Sivepe.) Basketball and meetings meanwhile continued at Sivepe, and sewing continued quietly at the pastor's house. The club was busy making uniforms for the basketball team. The next stage of the transactions between the station and Sivepe was much more subtle.

535 About three months before our departure from Sivepe, a mission
[123] teacher told me that his wife intended to teach Sivepe women a coastal
[197] women's initiation dance called the kere. This, he suggested, would be in our honour. My wife at once expressed much interest in joining in this dance. Nothing happened, of course, during lent but on April 1, the first week after Easter, the village fell dead silent early in the evening, everyone pretended to go to bed, the women slunk away somewhere and late at night all the women appeared dressed in white tapa cloths and tarpaulins, clearly impersonating spirits and performing a vigorous but most eerie dance, while all the men at first stayed indoors and the village remained otherwise in total silence.
●[534] I even heard a flute, a highly sacred instrument which everybody continued to pretend was never played. The next evening the same performance was repeated; I then heard in conversations not intended for my ears that these dancers were the embahi (spirits). On the third day it was intimated to my wife that she might join. The "practises" (as they were now called) continued, though my wife never actually heard the flutes when she was dancing. After more than two months of almost daily practise, the kere was performed in public at the mission station, its character having been gradually transformed from a rite into a dramatic representation. Nonetheless, a careful observer could see elements of initiation ritual at all stages.

794 At all these practises, the mission teacher sat and watched
575 at the centre of the stage. His wife played the role of the teacher;
578 later, she asked an older woman, an expert from her natal village, to take over the leadership. The clearest sign of the continuing status battle was in the unending arguments on where the practises were to be held. Sivepe insisted they should be in the village but the station

796 The same pattern is found in the dancing which occurs nightly
177 before a major feast is held or before certain initiatory rites (like
the kere) are concluded. These are now referred to as "practise,"
[535] even though they are undoubtedly ritual acts in their own right. It
is also significant that the Orokaiva seasonal rites have been fitted
in as part of the Christmas and Easter observances, apparently as an
exotic appanedage, but in fact as a means of preserving traditional
religious obligations, even though in a changed form.

659 The same service of two masters is sometimes seen in the secular
sphere. People built lavatories, on official instructions, long before
[514] they dared to use them (for fear of sorcery). At Kendata, an hour's
[754] walk from Sivepe, I saw a village with new houses, built on the govern-
[361] ment's instructions, but I was told nobody lived there except when
there was a visit from the patrol officer. There are many such villages
in the Managalasi district. Here, government instructions are being
complied with but customary patterns have persisted. In Sivepe, not
very much show needed to be put on for the patrol officer. The place
was cleaned before he arrived, of course, but not significantly more
so than happened every week.

123 It is true that certain things were concealed from me in Sivepe,
but these fell largely into some simple and reasonable categories:
secrets known only to initiated men, secrets known only to members
of a family or of the Seho clan. It was not a practise of the people
to pretend to adhere to a custom they had abandoned or to pretend to
881 have abandoned what they were still practising. In the early days of
our stay, this did happen; it took some months before we discovered
that girls were secluded upon their first menstruation and then ceremoni-
ally exhibited. We were told this custom no longer existed. But then,
we had referred to the custom with reference to what Williams said
about it; and in that form, perhaps, it was not or no longer practised
[841] in Sivepe. Later, I was told that if the ceremony was not performed
[783] girls could not control their menses; there would be no way of stemming
the flow of blood and everything would be polluted. Thus, the ritual
has persisted. Whether full-grown girls, completely naked, are carried
through villages at the present time I very much doubt (vis Williams,
1930: 207). I was told that these customs lasted until the second
● 534 world war and then were abandoned. But I found the word "abandoned"
782 always a dangerous one; the calling down of spirits with bullroarers
178 in preparation for a feast (viz. Williams) was also, according to
Sivepe informants, an "abandoned" custom; yet it happened in both
Inonda and Urarituru (a mile from Sasembata mission station) in 1967.
It was true that it had not been done in Sivepe for some time--not
since the middle fifties--and that there was no immediate intention
of doing it again. On the other hand, Sivepe knew the use of bull-
roarers as a means of calling down spirits which would then be
present at a feast and give this feast magical potency. For the time
being, Sivepe people evidently feel that this procedure is unnecessary
for the achievement of their immediate ends but it is still part of the
store of available possibilities should a need appear to arise.